2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

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Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

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Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

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There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

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The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

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[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

851 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

868 is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most

551 cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Agu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Nawaiŋ* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikaang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to [683] accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuogo* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she [847] not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to 842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nuole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees.

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful.

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the woman's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire
683 of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?».

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes.

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease.

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power.

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must